/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

771 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate 776 775 one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

[805] 771 [192] 1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 771 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 756 554

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

C 756 755

C 887 759

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

Ee 541 535 532 177 174

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

C 773 821 [787]

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

C [805]

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Ee 773 114

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

Ee 773

6: Nordenskiöld--85 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chané SF8

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ce 821 /294 cont./ "yánduinyaka," the head of the ostrich; the two largest stars in Centaurus are "yánduipoy," necklace of the ostrich; Venus is called "coemilla," morning. Orion with the sword "hüirayüara" (birds meet). Another constellation is "huázupucu," roebuck horn; another, "borévi," tapir. They call the Pleiades "ychu," but they do not know the meaning of the name, and this is the most important constellation of all.

Ee 821 If one sits with the Indians in their huts, they can indicate the position of the most important constellations in the sky without seeing them. They know their position at all times of the year.

Ee 821 The starry sky is not only the watch and the compass of the Indians. It is also their calendar. In this the Pleiades play an especially important part here, as among other Indians. When they first /295/ become visible on the horizon at dawn, the proper time has come for the sowing of maize. The fact that this relatively unimportant constellation plays such an important role in the astronomy of the Indians has given rise to fantastic speculations about Babylonian influence.

Ee 821 If one asks Indians about the size of the stars and their distance from us, they stand there perplexed and prefer not to answer at all. They understand, however, that they must be far away.

C 821 773 The stars do not play an important role in the legends. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, however, said there was once a brother who was playing with his little sister. They tried to catch each other, they sang and jumped. Now they are sitting in the firmament as two stars.

Two clusters of stars in the southern part of the southern firmament are the ashes of an old man and an old woman, a Chiriguano once told me. It was an evening in August.

Ce [821] [773] In legends, the sun is a man and the moon a woman. The Chané children stole fire from an old man, the sun, and the two-headed Yahuéte hid under the tiru of the moon-woman when he was being pursued by the son of the armadillo-god.